

R. Matthew Lynn

A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE
AND A SMALL BUT POWERFUL
GROUP WHICH MAY WRECK IT

==

By

DR. MICHAEL MARYOSIP

Pastor, First Presbyterian Church

Temple, Texas

A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE
AND A SMALL BUT POWERFUL
GROUP WHICH MAY WRECK IT

By

DR. MICHAEL MARYOSIP

Pastor, First Presbyterian Church

Temple, Texas

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I am grateful for permission to quote from books by the following publishers: The MacMillan Company, "American Opinion and the War," by Archibald MacLiesh; The Viking Press, Inc., for quotations from "Let the People Know," by Norman Angell; The Soviet Union Today, for a speech printed in the March, 1934, issue, by former Ambassador Davies; Free World, for material printed in the February and March issues; E. P. Dutton & Co., "Russians Don't Surrender".

April 15, 1943

DEDICATION

This pamphlet is dedicated to the officers and members of the Congregation of the First Presbyterian Church. For nearly fifteen years I have been their pastor. In recent months and years the echoes of what is written in this pamphlet have reached their ears, but they have never in any way sought to deny me the full freedom of the pulpit. I am sure some of my people do not share my opinions on some things I have written, but I have never had any reason to believe that my officers would like for me to stop speaking openly my mind on such matters. For this great gift I am grateful to God and them.

A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE AND A SMALL BUT POWERFUL GROUP WHICH MAY WRECK IT

By Dr. Michael MarYosip

The nations of the world at war are fighting a great and tragic war. The battle is for the souls and bodies of men, make no mistake about that. This war is revolutionary in its deepest sense. The mere fact that on our side are China and Russia, is a proof of that. The fact that Japan is on the side of Germany and Italy is a further proof of that fact. The forces against which we are fighting believe our world can be saved only by their Fascism, which means the control of the peoples by might and money. On our side there are lined up the forces which believe the peoples must have four freedoms. Communism is not our economic way of doing things, but Communism is closer to us in this matter than is Fascism. This war is being fought to conquer the peoples politically, economically, intellectually and spiritually, make no mistake of that. This is a revolutionary war. It is evident the side that wins will set the pattern for the kind of civilization the world is to have for many decades or centuries. It becomes just as imperative, therefore, to think and to act now for the kind of peace the world is to have.

Mr. Wendell L. Willkie has learned this truth as disclosed in his recent book, published by Simon & Schuster, entitled "One World," in which he says, "To win this peace, three things seem to me necessary. First, we must plan now for peace on a world basis, second, the world must be free, politically and economically, for nations and for men, that peace may exist in it; third, America must play an active, constructive part in freeing the world and keeping its peace."

Willkie seems to have learned a great deal about his world in his trip of 31,000 miles, but one thing seems certain about this shrewd politician. He knows a new world is being born, but he is too clever to use the word revolution often, and he has been too closely associated with the small group which may hinder a just and durable peace.

Only this week I had a letter from a soldier who said "When we come back we want to know what you have been doing." We cannot create a new heaven and earth, God alone can do that. But we should know what is going on in our tragic world. We should know that it is impossible in our modern world to live as we have done heretofore, and live safely. The primary need of our world is a spiritual revival of our cultural and spiritual heritage. We need more democracy along all lines and not less. We must have a socialized economic system if we are not to fall victims of Fascism. There is no fear of Communism if we practice more democracy and live more in the light of the Christian faith.

For a number of years now it has been evident that a just and durable peace is imperative and possible. Such a peace has been the object of discussion among leading historians, economists, statesmen

and educators. I happen to know more about leading churchmen. The last two Popes, to go no further back, have spoken plainly on this subject. In 1937, leaders of all churches of the world, save the Roman Catholic, gathered in Oxford and Edinburg, and spoke their minds on these subjects in plain language. In Great Britain, the Malvern Conference spoke for the Church of England, on these same problems. More than a year ago, the Delaware Conference representing all American churches spoke plainly on the kind of peace needed by our world. Recently the bishops of the Roman Catholic church spoke plainly on the ills of the world and its cures and grounds for a just and durable peace. A few days ago, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America sent out a brief pamphlet, prepared by a special committee on a just and durable peace. Only a few days ago Mr. Churchill spoke over the radio to his people. It was clear that the Prime Minister knows what kind of peace and economic world mankind needs. Recently China's first lady told the American people the kind of world and peace mankind needs. There is no question at all that a just and durable peace is of primary importance.

Real Nature of This War

I had hoped that Dr. Gordon C. Singleton, the President of Mary Hardin-Baylor College would write the first part of this pamphlet, in which he was to show how sadly needed is such a just and durable peace. But heavy duties of his office have kept him from it. I was to write on the forces in our world, and in particular in our nation which, if successful, would wreck such a peace. That part of this pamphlet is now ready, and is as follows below. The revolutionary nature of this war is accurately described by Henry P. VanDusen in his recent book as follows: "It is a truism that the past half-century has been marked by the steady accentuation and advance towards crisis of five conflicts in the life of mankind. They are not unrelated but they may be clearly distinguished. One has been the struggle between imperial might and the increasing self-assertion of subjects and backward peoples, what is frequently spoken of as the conflict of East and West. Another has been the mounting tension between white and non-white races throughout the world, the race issue. A third has been the conflict between the principle of nationalism and the principle of universalism in world affairs, a struggle which came to impermanent decision in launching of the League of Nations. Still another has dominated the sphere of industry, between traditional capitalist enterprise and a rising socialist economy. Then there has been the even deeper cultural issue which has much occupied Christians, between advancing secularism and a spiritual interpretation of human existence." It is evident from the above that the only cure for these conflicts is a just and durable peace. The following pages are the result of my reading in many sources which leads me to believe a small and powerful group will wreck a just and durable peace, if it can.

The Common Man Wants a Durable Peace

The war which is now being waged by the United Nations has passed into its second phase. The first phase was marked by deep apprehension and anxiety. The Axis powers everywhere had their way. The second phase of the war is now on. The United Nations are marching to victory. No matter how long and arduous may be the way, the forces of freedom shall emerge triumphant, and once again they shall have the noble opportunity to make peace--a peace which all the freedom loving peoples long for. The thoughtful people everywhere and the common man are wondering what kind of peace it shall be. For months now, leading men of the United Nations have been speaking and writing on peace and the post-war world. Months ago, when the cause of freedom was still uncertain, a great leader in one of his speeches to the world used a great phrase. Mr. Churchill said, "A trumpet had sounded from on high." And those of us who heard that speech felt that that great man was speaking out of our own hearts. It was indeed a call from on high. Many of us are hearing another trumpet call from on high. It is a call to pray and work for a better and more durable peace. I firmly believe that the common man has heard that trumpet call. What causes me deep concern is this: A few in our land, as in other lands, are determined that the clear notes of that call from on high for a just and more enduring peace shall not be heard. The question of a nobler peace must now be faced in utter earnestness. When victory is ours, the common man shall have given more in blood, toil and anguish. He is entitled to be heard. He desires a good peace--a peace that will endure! To win the war and lose the peace will be the greatest tragedy of the twentieth century. As surely as we lose the peace for which men of good will everywhere are hoping, another and a more terrible war will face our children, the outcome of which no man can predict. Two years and seven months ago I published a pamphlet entitled, "The Congress Must Declare War on Hitler Now." Only five or seven per cent of our people then realized the revolutionary nature of this war, and that sooner or later we would be drawn into it. Now, two and a half years later, as I write part of this pamphlet, I am so glad to notice what a large section of our people, both leaders and common men, speak and write for a better peace. The vast majority of us desire a lasting peace after victory. What concerns me most now is this. A small group, but a powerful one, seems determined to mislead the rest of us about the causes of this war and the kind of peace necessary for a post-war world. Michael Straight, lately Assistant Economist in the Division of the Department of State, now a soldier, and a noted author, said, "The skies are darkening around us and forces are gathering around us to destroy the United Nations, and to make certain that when the war is won, the world organization we have created will again go the way of world organizations of the past." This author quoted President Roosevelt, who recently said, "The concept of the United States will not perish on the battlefields of this terrible war. It will live to lay the basis of an enduring world understanding upon which mankind depends for its peace." The President was speaking prophetically, and was

expressing the same feeling Mr. Straight expressed, only our great President put it positively.

Four Great Nations and Peace

I fear unless the common man in our, as in other lands, makes his voice heard and his influence felt, a small group will kill this hope for a better peace. A small group killed that hope twenty-five years ago. They will do it again. The issue before us as a people in the post-war world was clearly stated by Congresswoman Luce, who opened the fight against the kind of peace our world needs. Here are her words: "Shall we as a nation pursue a fundamentally materialistic policy and push our material and national interest in every part of the world where we believe we can push them successfully, or are we going to fight a people's war for the century of the common man?" It is such voices I fear when we come to the making of peace. All purely selfish acts defeat the very goals they seek. Samuel Grafton, in a recent broadcast (WOR) urged the administration to list its war aims. He listed the aims of the opposition as follows: A large standing army and navy and compulsory military training; a more splendid, bigger, more completely and more expansive type of isolation; no friendly relations with Russia after the war. This last is softly spoken now, due to the mighty sacrifices Russia has made in holding her enemy and ours. It is this type of thinking and acting I fear when we come to the making of another peace. This group appeals to the natural and national interests and instincts of most of us, but unless these national and natural instincts are curbed and refined, we shall lose the peace. John Gunther, the well-known commentator and author, on February 14, 1943, said: "There will be no peace in Europe or, for that matter, in the world, unless the United States, England and Russia cooperate and collaborate after this war." He should have added the name of China. Russia in Europe and China in Asia are going to be danger spots in the making of an enduring peace. Pearl Harbor came because for years we have stood for an open door in China. Nathaniel Pfeffer, Professor of International Relations at Columbia University, takes this position in his recent book, "Basis for Peace in the Far East." As an authority on the Far East, he has written three books on the subject. He insists that China must be included in the post-war planning for a better peace. If we do not, another war in the Far East must come. There is no yellow peril except the one we are now fighting. The security and peace in the Far East depend on a sovereign and democratic China. Those few among us who are thinking only in selfish terms with relation to China should know that such a position means another war in the Far East. J. Alvarez del Vayo, former Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Spanish Republic, a member of the Free World Association, and on the staff of its International Editorial Board, which publishes Free World, in the June, 1942, issue of this international magazine said: "More grave is the danger coming from those groups which, while favoring resolutely a total military victory over the Axis, are not convinced that there is much in the system existing prior to the war which is in need of change. These people would probably reply indignantly to a charge of being re-

actionary, yet they believe that a world order constructed on the old model of classic capitalism is compatible with a democratic victory in Europe. For the moment, and for the duration of the war, they are content to be seen in company with those of the Left, and to cheer Russia at social affairs given for Russian relief. They would even go so far as to admit that Sir Stafford Cripps, despite his radical past, is somewhat of a statesman. But what will be their attitude on the day when, after Hitler and the odious Japanese have been defeated, the hour of peace approaches? Then the man who has grown rich and powerful under the capitalistic regime will once more fight for his privileges with the same determination as before."

A Small But Powerful Group

It is this group which is seeking to obstruct the way for a better peace. President Roosevelt must have had this group in mind when on February 12th he said: "There are still a few who say we cannot achieve this and other honorable, reasonable aims for the post-war world. In speaking of these professional skeptics--these men of little faith--there comes to my mind an old word in our language--the word *pettifogging*. Today the *pettifoggers* are attempting to obscure the essential truths about this war. They are seeking to befog the present and the future, and the clear purpose and high principles for which the free world now maintains the promise of undimmed victory." In the same speech, the President told the nation that he had to admit to anxious soldiers with whom he had talked that there were some who placed personal ambition and greed above the nation's interests. It is this group which I fear. This group will not hesitate to obstruct hopes of a better peace, should their greed and political ambitions demand it. This group reaches millions of our people through their control, direct or indirect, of most of the mediums of public information. I wish it were possible for me to be as optimistic about the prospects of a better and more enduring peace as our great President seems to be. I do hope and pray that his hopes are well founded and my fears mere delusions.

It has been a growing conviction with me in recent months that the kind of peace which our world needs will be fought against to a bitter end by a small but powerful group in our nation. This small group is now waging a war on the home front on domestic issues. This group knows, if other people do not know, that our domestic issues are part and parcel of the larger world issues. They intend, this group, to give battle first to domestic issues, and when the war is over, they will give battle to the larger world issues. This group is anxious to hide the fact that our world is the ferment of a revolution. A new world is in the making. This group desires to maintain status quo. All changes which threaten their power and influence are fought against. Of course, any group within a democracy has a right to present its case. What deeply concerns me is the fact that this group reaches more people. It is a matter of record that the largest number of the means of information are in their hands. This group controls directly or indirectly the newspaper chains, magazines and radio stations. If this were merely an opinion of mine, the reader could pass it up. However, it happens to be the conviction of many

of the best informed people in our land. In November, 1942, a little booklet was published which I have in my possession. It is a speech made by Archibald MacLeish, the librarian of one of the greatest libraries in the world, the Congressional Library. MacLeish was invited to fly three thousand miles to a leading English university to make this speech. In this speech he mentions this small group. "Mr. Wallace's Free World Dinner speech, ignored at first by the greater part of the press, was belatedly driven into the columns of the principal papers by the sheer weight of private concern--an unusual phenomena in any country." Later on in the same speech MacLeish has these revealing words to say about the persons and influences which I fear: "I should not wish, however, to leave you with the impression that these speeches have been accepted with a unanimity of agreement in the United States. On the contrary, they have been attacked with passion by minorities in the press and in the country. But the attack itself bears testimony to the extent and meaning of the changes which are taking place, for those who make it are the remnants of the isolationist minority of seven months ago. Isolationism in America is dead, as all the polls agree. But old isolationists never really die; they merely dig their toes in in a new position. And the new position, whatever name is given it, is isolation still. Where the old isolationism opposed the country's determination to face the war, the new isolationism opposes the country's determination to face the peace." Toward the end of the little book, MacLeish has the following to say of this small group: "Their newspapers have become the most chauvinistic, their speeches the most flamboyant, the country affords. They hate the enemy with a public hatred rarely surpassed in any vocabulary. But the war they support with so much noise and fury is not the war the world is fighting, but a very different war. It is not the people's war to which the United Nations have committed themselves--the war fought, as the President has put it, by the massed, angered forces of common humanity--but another war, a soldier's war, a war of military purpose only, a war which they hope will end, as their original policy of peaceful isolation was intended to end, with all the rights and perquisites intact, and everything put back the way it was before." This group and others who share their ideas will wreck the prospects of a good peace if they can. Perhaps eighty per cent or more of the sources of news and other information which reach the common man is directly or indirectly in control of this group. In this group's opinion, the national and international problems are to be judged by the effect they have on their own greedy interests. The reader of this pamphlet should have no difficulty in securing well documented books on this subject from any reasonably good public library. I have a few of these books which reveal the extent of the influence this group has over the mediums of information which reach the American people. If one quarter of what these well documented books reveal be true, the danger from this group for a better peace is most real. Here is another testimony from a source which should convince everyone that my fears about this group are not mere whims. William Allen White is a great editor and own-

er of a newspaper which he has made famous. He recently was in Washington, and upon his return home he wrote the following about this group. Part of what he wrote was quoted in the March 3rd issue of the Christian Century. Read these words from this distinguished editor. "It is silly to say New Dealers run this war show. It's run largely by absentee owners of amalgamated industrial wealth, men who either directly or through their employers control small minority blocks, closely organized, that manipulate the physical plants of these trusts. Also, for the most part, these managerial magnates whom one meets in Washington are decent Americans. For the most part they are giving to the American people superb service. They have great talents. If you touch them in nine relations of life out of ten, they are kindly, courteous, Christian gentlemen. But in the tenth relation, where it touches their own organization, they are stark mad, ruthless, unchecked by God or man, paranoiacs, in fact, as evil in their designs as Hitler. They are determined to come out of this war victors for their own stockholders. This attitude of the men who control the great commodity industries and who propose to run them according to their own judgment and their own morals, does not make a pretty picture for the welfare of the common man. These international combinations of industrial capital are fierce troglodyte animals with tremendous power and no social brains. They hover like the old silurian reptiles about our decent, more or less Christian civilization --like great dragons in this modern day when dragons are supposed to be dead." If an editor can write such words in the midst of a great war, what can be expected from this group after the victory is won? If an editor can write such words, a minister should, if he could, make every word he writes about this small group to blaze and burn.

We Need Not Fear Russia and China

It is my deep conviction that this small group has the will and the power to obstruct the way for a better peace after victory is ours. It may be reasonably assumed that one reason why so many of our leaders in high places are now speaking and writing on the kind of peace the world must have is this. These leaders fear the powerful influence of this group. The leaders of the nation would not be speaking of the post-war world in the midst of this terrible war did they not feel that they must do so. Sir Norman Angell, one of the best informed men in the English-speaking world, a man who knows our country as well as he does his own, thinks that the prospects for a better peace are good. He gives his reason for this in his recent book, "Let the People Know." Let us read his own words about this small group: "If this book has a single text, it is that two wars have come upon us in a single generation because we have forgotten the elementary social truth that the right of each to life must be defended collectively, by the community, or it cannot be defended at all; that if we will not defend the rights of others against violence we shall at last be unable to defend our own and will ourselves become the victims of that violence." In this same book he warns us against those who would poison our minds against our associates in this war. "The Canadian author, John MacCormac, who acted for long as Cana-

dian correspondent for important American newspapers, in his recent book lays down and cogently supports two propositions: (1) 'Nothing is now more certain than that the United States and Britain must join their forces, or both will go down;' and (2) 'Powerful elements in American opinion will oppose such unity.' If one take typical passages from books about the British by authors like Mr. Theodore Dreiser, or certain editorials of the Hearst, McCormick, or Patterson press; or certain speeches made in Congress within the last year or two, and change the word 'British' to 'Jews' one would get expressions of anti-Semitism not much less vivid than the Jewish press." A more recent example of how this group seeks to confuse us is the following story as reported by the Christian Century. During the second week in February, Undersecretary of State Sumner Wells made a speech at the University of Maryland. The Chicago Tribune, which claims to be the greatest paper in the world, took a part of this speech and made it appear that our nation's foreign policy was surging away to the right. The truth of the matter was that Wells did no such thing. The thesis he developed, if anything, was just the opposite. Fortunately, in this case, other papers told the whole truth.

This is the people's war. The peoples of the world are deeply concerned in its outcome and consequent peace. The peoples of the Free Nations have a great stake in it. The United Nations are waging this war against the Axis because the Axis powers are the enemies of mankind. Two of these nations hold different economic and religious views from those we hold. We are glad to have China and Russia on our side. Their great sacrifices have been an important factor in the assurance of the victory now on the horizon. These two nations must be a part and an important one in the making of a better peace. Few men know Russia better than former Ambassador Joseph E. Davies, who recently said, "No one foresaw the Hitler menace more clearly than did Stalin, Voroshilov, Litvinov, Molotov, Mikoyan, and the other great men whom I knew in Moscow six years ago. Against great odds, and beginning with the accession to power of Hitler in 1933, they built up an economic, a civilian, and a military structure, which created an enormous army, developed a marvelous industrial equipment, which provided thousands of tanks, airplanes, and implements of war, without which, successful resistance to the aggressors would have been impossible. The Chinese will not wish to be dominated by the white man any more than they have been willing to be made a colony of the Japanese warlords. The Chinese are on our side. They will continue to be on our side. They will need our economic and political help. But we must not create a peace which has as its goal economic exploitation of China nor political overlordship. In that way lies another war. Speaking on this subject recently, Mme. Chiang Kai-shek said: "All nations, great and small, must have equal opportunity for development. Those who are stronger and more advanced should consider their strength as a trust to be used to help the weaker nations to fit themselves for full self-government, and not to exploit them." There is no yellow peril unless we create one. A revolution has been going on in China for years. As

the heart of it is the cry for a better world and peace for its millions. A successful revolution has been achieved in Russia. How successful it has been recent months have abundantly demonstrated. The Russian soldier and common man has stood against the greatest army in the world. A peaceful and orderly revolution has been going on in Great Britain, as well as our own land. One gets tired hearing that Great Britain has gone socialistic or Red. The truth is that the capitalistic structure of that country has not been touched. The same thing is true in our own land. All that has been done is to see to it that common man has a better chance for food, clothes, medicine, and a coffin.

Facts Reveal the Methods of This Group

The group I am afraid of is never tired in seeking to poison the mind of the average man about some changes our age and times demand if we are to keep our way of life going on. This group and its power has been exposed by many investigating committees in our Congress. The Temporary National Economic Committee appointed by the 75th Congress, whose work cost the taxpayers one million and thirty thousand dollars. Its findings have been published in many monographs by the government. Monograph 26 is entitled "Economic Power and Political Pressure." It gives facts and figures, and names persons among the group I fear. When these monographs appeared they received scant notice in the press of the nation. The reason for such neglect is very obvious. The aim of this small group is not the common man. This small group has done an effective work to poison the average man against labor unions. No amount of facts and figures from the most authoritative sources about the loyalty of labor unions as a whole has stopped this group from its smear campaign. The present administration and its spokesmen in the halls of Congress have had to fight with all their power to keep this group from running away with the show. Representative Adolph Sabath was reported as telling this group on the floor of the House, which is the group which is trying to repeal the \$67,000.00 salary limitation, "You know who wants that. You don't want it. I don't want it. The American people don't want it. The very element that wants it is the element that kicks because labor is making \$30.00, \$40.00, or \$50.00 a week." The LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee has a report of 2,500,000 words which has been available for some time. This committee's report shows how low some members of this small group stooped in order to destroy labor unions. Such people cannot support a peace for common man everywhere. Here is a more recent story which made the rounds through the efforts of this small group. The crews of the merchant ships reaching Guadalcanal, it was said, refused to unload food for the famished marines on that bloody battlefield because it was Sunday. Even AP carried the story and refused to correct it, according to In Fact and PM. Lt. Col. Fuller of the marines, only recently back from Guadalcanal, denied the story. Generals Denig and Vanfergift branded it as false. Mr. Curren, President of the Maritime Union, quoted the Navy Department to prove the story to be false. But on went the story to smear labor. This small group does not want progress at home. It is hard to believe that it will not do all it can to obstruct a better peace, once victory

is ours. This group seems glad, at least they act that way, that Hitler crushed the common people and their organization in Germany, and other conquered lands. Mussolini did the same thing. Recently in a round-table discussion conducted by the Free World Magazine, Mr. Robert J. Watt, who is Chairman of the Labor Advisory Committee of the Board of War Communications, said: "The role of labor is distinctive because the masses of working people have most to gain from the preservation of our free institutions. It is distinctive only because the masses of working people, both now and after the war, must be the first line of democracy's defense, from within as well as without." This small but powerful group is not for the common man and the peace he longs for. This group likes to talk of the American Century, which plainly means the keeping of the common man under its heel at home and abroad. This group is against the benefits of Four Freedoms for the common man at home. It will be a miracle if it works for a peace which gives these same Four Freedoms to men everywhere. Listen or read the speeches made by this group and its mouthpieces. Recently the National Association of Manufacturers had its convention. It was reported by the press. The speeches that drew applause were those which smeared and openly ridiculed the hopes of the common man. The newly elected head of the N.A.M. is reported to have brought the house down with applause when he ridiculed the leaders of the country who express the hope of a better world and peace. The idea that a man should believe or hope that every man should have a pint of milk!

Big Business Organizations and Peace

Here is another example of how this small group seeks to have its point of view pressed on certain selected groups. Recent reports in the press, including the religious press, show that N.A.M. is out to save teachers and preachers of the nation from their evil ways. Since these groups as a rule are liberal in their thinking and more socially minded, they must be won by this group to a higher way of thinking. This group through its mouthpiece, N.A.M., desires teachers to present their viewpoint to the youth of the nation to save it from Communism. Like Congressman Dies, whoever does not agree with this group's viewpoint is at once labeled as Red or dangerous. This group has printed material to be used by the teachers. A remarkable thing has taken place in recent months. The National Association of manufacturers has been sponsoring conferences between business men and ministers. Some five hundred such conferences are reported. It indeed is wonderful to us ministers to be invited to sit down with a banker and manufacturer and to discuss the common problems of our modern life. But wait a moment--these N.A.M.-sponsored conferences have no desire to learn. They merely wish to get the minister on the right track. If the minister desires to stand on his Christian convictions, he is likely to be called leaning way left or downright Red! As an example of this method of smearing the church and its leaders by this group, read the February 22nd issue of In Fact. It is an exposé of the National Association of Manufacturers, and its opinion of one of the outstanding leaders of a great church and his utterances about the ills that beset mankind. It is

called the Malvern Manifesto. This conference of the Church of England was influenced greatly by the man who is now the Archbishop of Canterbury. The above group wanted to answer the Malvern conference. It did write such a document, but it did not publish it, fearing an awful flareback. This document was published by *In Fact*. It calls the stand by this prominent Christian group medieval in thought and as using the jargon of modern parlor pinks. The N.A.M. calls the church a parasite. It calls this famous report laboristic. In a very clever way it rejects the teaching of the Bible. But one should read the whole issue of *In Fact* in order to understand how this group is ready to brand all efforts to meet national and international problems as purely Communistic. How can anyone believe such a powerful group will work for a more just and enduring peace? A few weeks ago at one of these conferences sponsored by N.A.M. in Memphis, Tennessee, to which ministers and business men were invited. At the close of this conference a business man was reported as saying that his opinion of ministers had reached a new low. It is true that teachers and preachers can learn something from the business man, but one wonders at times if this group ever thinks it might learn something, too. Isolationism is not dead in our country, but slumbering. It will come to life the moment victory is won.

The Russian armies have already forced the German leaders to proclaim to their own people and the world that German armies were standing guard against the spread of Bolshevism all over Europe. The former President of Czechoslovakia, D. E. Benes, on November 10th, 1941, wrote, "The exposure of Soviet Russia to isolation was one of the reasons for the second European War, and if that error is repeated, it probably will lead to a third and still more disastrous European and World War." This small group which I fear in a thousand ways is reporting the same rumors, only they are doing it now more subtly. Some of the best informed men are telling us that there is no danger of Communism if only the leading democracies put their own philosophy into practice in the rest of the world, at least as much of it as it is now possible to do. Only two weeks ago I heard a former German journalist and a member of the German Reichstag who escaped from a concentration camp in Germany in 1935, tell a gathering of Temple citizens that Germany was never in danger of Communism. It takes no prophet to tell us that the problems facing the United Nations after the victory is won are going to be gigantic. We can leave these problems to those who are able to handle them. But the simple fact that we all can understand is that a small group will wreck such a peace. We, the common people, have our job. We must let our leaders know where we stand on the subject of peace. A very recent example of how this group seeks to poison our people's minds about Russia took place only a few days ago. On March 8, the press of the nation informed the American people that Ambassador Standley, in a news conference in Moscow, had said that the Russian people were not informed about the aid given them by the United States. The leading newspaper in Texas carried on the front page a heavy headline on this subject. And in an editorial which I have be-

fore me he very cleverly intimated suspicion about Russia in the post-war world. No matter what the personal opinion of an editor may be, he should get all the facts before writing such an editorial. The facts are the Ambassador should have known that the Russian people have been given the facts. On the very date of that editorial a liberal paper listed dates and times in which leading Russian papers Izvestia, Pravda, and Red Star, had carried many items of information on what the United States had promised and sent to Russia. In a day or two leading men in the administration and Congress repudiated the Ambassador's reported observations. But on go such tactics by this group and its representatives. Fortunately, the truth comes out sooner or later. But a story once started keeps going on doing its work of poisoning our people's minds about Russia. The small group which I fear as an obstacle to a better peace is busy right now. In our own country it seeks to destroy the social gains we have so far made. Generally speaking, the problems of the world are much alike. It is hard to believe a group which is fighting social problems at home will give its aid to the solution of these problems in other countries. I firmly believe this. At least, this is my opinion, and I believe the new facts I have put down in this pamphlet show that it is more than a mere opinion. I may be unduly alarmed, but I cannot help feeling as I do about it. The constant smear of labor by the press, magazines and radio which are mostly controlled by this group point that way. The never ending struggle of this group against the social gains made in this country point that same way. The recent national election, some think, points that way. The recent performance of some Congressmen is another indication of the same point of view. Certain bills before Congress show the same tendency. The activities of the National Association of Manufacturers, as so many investigations show, point out what this group thinks of national and international problems. The point of view expressed by some of the best books and weeklies differ very much from the point of view expressed by this small group through its mouthpieces such as chain papers, magazines and radio. I would not for the world have you believe that there are not some in this powerful group who are aware of what is taking place in their world, and are ready to work for a better peace. All I assert is that this group as a whole is against the Century of Common Man, and is for the American Century. As I said above, this last will pave the way for another war, should it have its way. On March 9, Vice-President Wallace listed five steps which will lead to a third World War, and among these steps he lists a few things I have written in this pamphlet. Wallace warns against the perils of isolationism, the imperialistic hopes of some in our land, and the assertion that if we help to improve the condition of other nations we shall lower our own standard of living. In a word, the Vice-President is afraid of the same group I am afraid of.

This Group Has Fascist Mentality

Recently a new book has come out entitled "Germany's Master Plan," by Joseph Borkin, economic advisor of the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice, and Charles A. Welsh, a cartel expert for the Office of Price Administration. I have just finished

reading a long review of it. Most of us read some weeks back how cartels have embarrassed our war effort. Some members of the group I fear had entered into agreement with German cartels. United States firms played ball with the Germans, and thus insured the success of German plans to keep us from having things we needed for war making. This group, at least some of its members, for its own selfish end would wreck our peace. It seems that this group likes Fascism in politics and economics. These are men of Fascist mentality. In Germany this group, or rather its counterpart, sided with Hitler against the common man. The same thing happened in Italy. Five weeks ago I sat at the table with a German who escaped a concentration camp in 1935. I asked him who were the important people who made Hitler's rise to power possible. He at once said the military leaders and leaders of heavy industry. Then I asked him if he told the American people that in his public addresses. He said: "Yes, but I do not stick my neck out that far." We now know that this same thing happened in Spain and France. Few correspondents and authors know France better than Pierre van Paassen. A few months ago he wrote that there was a group in France which feared victory more than defeat. Because victory might have meant more of the Four Freedoms for the common man in France. This group consisted of many high army officers and big business men. Van Paassen says that Weygand, in 1937, had written that the day may come when it would be necessary to ask Adolf Hitler to establish order in Europe and put an end to all democratic nonsense. Here is a group whose record in every country is against the common man. In our own country this group consists of men and women of great wealth and their associates. They are not bad men at all. They have formed great monopolies and the great monopolies have got them. They are few in number, but their voice is amplified by chain papers, magazines of national circulation and radio stations. They reach the largest section of our people. This group will wreck the hope of a better peace if it can. Pearl Buck, famous author and winner of the Nobel Prize, made a speech last January in New York City in which she said isolationism was stronger in our country than a few months back. She asserted that a world organization for the benefit of the common man was in danger. Three groups she mentioned as being dangerous to a better and more lasting peaceful order in our world are: The military leaders who now have great armies under their command; the great industrialists who control so much of the wealth of the nation; and lastly, she mentioned the people with a Fascist mentality who would not hesitate to bring a Fascist regime to our land. Now, my fear is that these three groups often stand together in their fight against the common man. The record of this group in recent upheavals of the nations is not very good. Too often in very recent years this group has been on the side of profits and against the plain people. This group has been responsible for the failure of the peaceful solution of many national and international problems. This has been the case in many countries in Europe and in Japan. How influential this small and powerful group was in raising Hitler to power

the reader is asked to read the most recent book by Howard K. Smith, "Last Train From Berlin." Read Chapter Eight. In this chapter you will find that Big Money made Hitler possible. Big Business backed his plans of conquest. This group under the name of Hitler crushed the common man and his organizations which alone gave battle to his struggle to power. This group this very moment is the greatest beneficiary of Hitler's loot and plunder of the conquered countries. Read this chapter by Mr. Smith. He is a graduate of Tulane University. He won a Rhodes Scholarship to Oxford. Before going to England for a two-year study he made a long visit to Germany in the years 1937 and 1938. When war was declared in 1939, he was hired by the United Press as a correspondent. He was the last correspondent to leave.

Church Universal for a Just Peace

In conclusion, I should like to do two things. First, I should like for the reader to know that in my hopes for a more durable peace, and in my fear of this small group which may obstruct such a peace, I stand with the judgment of the universal church. The universal church in recent decades has spoken with surprising unanimity on the problems which beset our modern world with special emphasis on the economic problems. All one has to do is to read the writing of the last two Popes and recent declarations on these matters by the Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church; the declaration of the Ecumenical gathering of all the churches which gathered at Oxford in 1937. Only Rome was absent from this Oxford gathering. The declarations made on this same subject by the Malvern Conference, which was a gathering of the Bishops of the Church of England, Mother Church of the Episcopal Church in the United States. More than a year ago the leaders of the American churches at the Delaware Conference spoke freely on the same subject. And very recently the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America spoke of the hopes of the common man which are threatened by economic and political tories. One of two things is true about this the universal voice of the church of God in speaking on these matters. Either the church has gone Communistic, which is unthinkable with respect to a large portion of the church, or the leadership of the church universal sees the signs of the times and is anxious to speak a word of warning to a small but powerful group. This group is greedy beyond description. In our country it got more than eighty per cent of the war contracts, but in England it got only fifteen per cent. It is this group which shouts loudest about labor when it asks for a few dollars more pay per week, but is now fighting through Congress to do away with the President's suggestion that a salary of \$25,000.00 be tops after all taxes are paid. I find it hard to believe this group will work for a better and more durable peace. The old type of isolationism is dead. Most of the well informed people know that the type of isolationism which wrecked the last peace is now impossible. The new type of isolationism is more dangerous. The isolationists are seeking to secure for their country an imperialism which is economic, military, and political. For this group this is the American Century. And this type

of imperialism is bound to isolate Russia and China from us. I frankly fear this group.

The second thing I should like to do is to make a list of things which seem to favor a durable peace and influence which in my opinion will obstruct such a peace.

SOME FACTS FAVORING A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE

1. The conviction among those who know our modern world that as never before the nations of the earth are one vast neighborhood. And that no nation is secure unless there is collective security for all.

2. There is agreement among the United Nations that they all face a common peril, Fascism, and this in the face of the fact that among the United Nations there are those who differ with us in race, religion, economic and political structure. The natural assumption is that they will stand together in the making of the peace.

3. The unanimous voice of the leaders of the church universal declaring the sort of post-war world and peace which will be in harmony with their Christian faith.

4. The voice of world-wide labor organizations asking for a more just and durable peace.

5. The willingness of the western democracies, in spots, to sacrifice in part at least their imperialism for the good of the common man.

6. The willingness of many in Great Britain and America to sacrifice so much for freedom. These may be willing to do the same things for a more just and durable peace.

7. The outspoken declarations of so many leading statesmen at home and abroad that we must work for a more durable peace.

8. The conviction of the man on the street and the soldier at home or at the front that this time we must do all we can to make a just and more enduring peace.

9. The growing conviction that Fascism holds no hope for the common man, and many who honestly held such a faith are now certain they were wrong.

10. The deepening conviction among a large section of the civilized people that there is a great need for a moral and spiritual basis for a just and durable peace. Many who hold this view formerly had nothing to do with religion. Briefly stated, this means that more than force is required to make a just and durable peace. Education and religion must play a vital part in the post-war world.

FORCES AND INFLUENCES WHICH MAY HINDER A DURABLE PEACE

1. A small but powerful group which pretends that there is no need of change in our national and international situation. This group desires to have things remain as they have been. In a rapidly changing world they see no need for change.

2. The suggestions made by some that sooner or later we have

to fight some of our gallant allies. These fear yellow peril or Communism.

3. The fear of labor organizations sponsored by a small group and kept up constantly before our people. And this in the face of the fact that the first organization to go in the Fascist form of government was the common man's organizations, labor unions.

4. The historic fact that rarely the groups which have privileges and power give them up for the good of common man.

5. A strong block in the halls of Congress which seems to be determined to destroy all recent social gains, and to laugh at the hopes of the common man.

6. The confusion created by this group in our country in the minds of our people as to the real nature of this war, and the cures which may contribute to a more just and durable peace.

7. The failure of the pulpit and the press to give their hearers and readers the most authoritative sources concerning the problems that beset us as a nation and world. (Here is an example of what I mean. Eighteen months ago perhaps the best edited magazine on international problems now confronting the world was launched. It is now published and distributed on three continents. Its international board and editorial staff is made up of leading statesmen, leaders and thinkers of many nations. I refer to the monthly magazine, *Free World*. A few days ago I wrote its office asking that it send me the number of those who subscribe to it in a city of 25,000. In this community there are more than twenty churches, four large hospitals manned by highly trained men, a large number of high ranking military officers, a fine daily paper, and a good school system and a junior college. How many persons do you suppose were subscribers to this outstanding magazine on international problems? Well, there was only one!)

8. The unquestioned bias of the nation's press in its constant favoring of economic and political tory-ism. Facts to support this come from many competent sources. Thomas Jefferson said the following about the press in the middle of his second term. "Nothing can now be believed which is seen in a newspaper. Truth itself becomes suspicious by being put into that polluted vehicle. The real extent of this state of misinformation is known only to those who are in situations to confront facts within their knowledge with the lies of the day. I really look with commiseration over the great body of my fellow-citizens, who, reading newspapers, live and die in the belief that they have known something of what has been passing in the world in their time; whereas the accounts they have read in newspapers are just as true a history of any other period of the world as of the present, except that the real names of the day are affixed to their fables." These are the words of the man who fought all his life for the freedom of religion and speech. What would he say were he liv-

ing in our day? The quotation is from page 224, Volume XI, "The Writings of Thomas Jefferson."

9. The moral and spiritual blindness of the average church member, both Catholic and Protestant. The average Catholic knows nothing about what the Popes in recent decades have said on the problems now besetting our world. The average Protestant looks strangely at anyone who mentions the Oxford, Malvern and Delaware Conferences, which have spoken clearly on the world problem. The average Christian church member does not want to carry the implications of his faith into his business and politics. Christian faith has become too exclusively a personal matter.

10. The dominance of Mammon, in political and economic thinking of the group which runs this country both in peace and war.

I have stated both sides. Now the reader can make up his own mind as to which forces will win when the time comes to make another peace.